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TAGS:PGOV, PEPR, CY, TU, UK

SUBJECT:NIMETZ DISCUSSION WITH HIBBERT ON EASTERN MEDITER-
RANEAN

1. DEPA;TMENT COUNSELOR NIMETZ MET WITH FCO DEPUTY UNDER-
SECRETARY HIBBERT MAY 30, AT LATTER'S REQUEST, FOR GENERAL
DISCUSSION OF EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES. NIMETZ BEGAN BY
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REVIEWING CURRENT PROSPECTS FOR REPEAL OF TURKISH ARMS EM-
BARGO: TASK WOULD PROBABLY BE EASIER IN SENATE THAN IN
HOUSE, WE FELT THAT GRADUAL SHIFT WAS UNDERWAY IN OUR FAVOR,
ETC. HIBBERT SAID THAT HE ASSUMED PRESENT HEIGHTENING OF
TENSIONS WITH SOVIET UNION WOULD HELP OUR EFFORT. NIMETZ
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT PROBABLY WOULD TO THE EXTENT THAT WE
COULD ENGAGE CONGRESSMEN ON NATO GROUNDS.

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2. NIMETZ SAID THAT WE WERE CONCERNED OVER THE CONSEQUENCES BOTH FOR CYPRUS AND NATO SHOULD THE EMBARGO NOT BE LIFTED. THE TURKS MIGHT WELL LOOSEN THEIR TIES WITH THE ALLIANCE BY WITHDRAWING SOME FORCES FROM THE INTEGRATED COMMAND STRUCTURE AND/OR BY FORCING WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. PERSONNEL FROM BASES IN TURKEY. IT WAS MOST UNLIKELY THAT THEY WOULD MAKE ANY NEW PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS; INDEED THEY WOULD PROBABLY JUST SIT TIGHT AND WAIT UNTIL THE EMBARGO QUESTION CAME AGAIN BEFORE THE CONGRESS IN 1979. THE TURKS MIGHT VERY WELL BE INCLINED TO TAKE MORE DAMAGING MOVES ON CYPRUS SUCH AS THE COLONIZATION OF VAROSHA AND THE EXCLUSION OF UNFICYP FROM THE TURKISH CYPRIOT ZONE. HIBBERT SAID THAT HE WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT THIS. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT MAINTENANCE OF THE EMBARGO WOULD MAKE THE TURKS MORE RIGID OR WOULD PROMPT THEM TO TAKE SPITEFUL ACTIONS ON CYPRUS. AS NEGOTIATIONS ON GREEK ENTRY INTO THE COMMUNITY APPROACHED FRUITION, THE TURKS WOULD BE EXTREMELY CAREFUL ABOUT DOING ANYTHING PROVOCATIVE IN CYPRUS OR THE AEGEAN. WHERE BEFORE THEY HAD TO CONTEND ONLY WITH GREECE, IN THE NEAR FUTURE THEY MIGHT WELL FIND THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE ARRAYED IN OPPOSITION. THE TURKS OWN HOPES FOR CLOSER ASSOCIATION WITH THE COMMUNITY WOULD SIMILARLY ENCOURAGE MODERATION.

3. NIMETZ OUTLINED THE EFFORTS WE WERE MAKING TO PROMOTE RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THAT IT CONFIDENTIAL

WAS PROBABLY NOT POSSIBLE TO INDUCE THE TURKISH SIDE TO IMPROVE THEIR TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS, BUT THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ENCOURAGE A MORE FORTHCOMING STANCE ON VAROSHA. IN THIS REGARD, THE DENKTASH STATEMENT OF MAY 22 HAD BEEN VERY USEFUL, AND OVER THE NEXT WEEK OR TWO WE WOULD PROBABLY BE SEEKING THE AGREEMENT OF THE PARTIES AND OF THE U.N. TO AN INTERIM U.N. ROLE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF VAROSHA. NIMETZ SAID THAT OUR PREFERRED GOAL WAS OF COURSE TO BRING THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, BUT WE RECOGNIZED THAT THEY WOULD NOT AGREE TO THIS UNTIL THE EMBARGO QUESTION HAD BEEN DECIDED ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. IN REALISTIC TERMS, WHAT WE HOPED TO ACCOMPLISH BY STIMULATING A DEMONSTRABLY FORTHCOMING TURKISH ATTITUDE WAS TO GAIN FURTHER CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR LIFTING THE EMBARGO. NIMETZ ADDED THAT WE HAD DONE OUR BEST TO PERSUADE THE GREEK CYPRIOTS THAT NOW WAS THE TIME TO MAKE A DEAL: IF THE EMBARGO WERE MAINTAINED THE TURKS WOULD BE COMPLETELY INTRANSIGENT; IF IT WERE LIFTED THEY WOULD NOT BE INCLINED TO OFFER THE CYPRIOTS MORE THAN THEY HAD ALREADY.

4. HIBBERT SAID THAT IT WAS THE UK VIEW ALSO THAT NO

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AMOUNT OF PRESSURE WOULD INDUCE THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO RESUME TALKS ON THE BASIS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT OFFER CURRENTLY ON THE TABLE. ONE FURTHER STEP ON VAROSHA WOULD CERTAINLY NOT DO THE TRICK. HIBBERT SAID THAT THE UK CONSIDERED THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS TO BE VERY POOR, AND HE NOTED THAT PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN HAD BEEN VERY BLUNT ABOUT THIS IN HIS RECENT MEETING WITH ECEVIT. FOR THERE TO BE A RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THE TURKS WOULD HAVE TO MAKE A MUCH BIGGER BID, WHICH WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE A SUBSTANTIALLY REVISED CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL AND A FLAT STATEMENT THAT VAROSHA WOULD DEFINITELY BE RETURNED TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS.

5. NIMETZ AND HIBBERT AGREED THAT FOLLOWING THE FINAL CON-
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GRESSIONAL VOTE ON THE EMBARGO--WHICHEVER WAY IT WENT--WE WOULD WANT TO REASSESS WHERE WE STOOD ON CYPRUS AND AGREE ON A FUTURE COURSE. HIBBERT SAID THAT EVEN IF THE EMBARGO WERE TO BE LIFTED PROGRESS ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE WAS UNLIKELY UNLESS THE U.S. AND THE U.K. JOINTLY EXERTED STRONG PRESSURE ON THE TURKS AND THE CYPRIOTS. HIBBERT SAID THAT HE HAD NO CLEAR IDEAS ON THE SUBJECT AT THE MOMENT, BUT THAT IN ALL PROBABILITY THE WESTERN FIVE OR SOME OTHER COMBINATION OF INTERESTED PARTIES WOULD HAVE TO SIT DOWN AND DEVISE A PACKAGE PROPOSAL WHICH A SPECIAL EMISSARY COULD THEN CONVEY TO THE TWO SIDES. NATURALLY, HE WOULD NOT EXPECT THEM TO AGREE TO THE PACKAGE RIGHT AWAY, BUT FROM THEIR REACTIONS TO IT AND BY DINT OF PERSISTENT MEDIATION WE WOULD BE ABLE TO FORMULATE A SERIES OF PROPOSALS THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS. HIBBERT SUGGESTED THAT AS AN ADDED INDUCEMENT TO THE PARTIES TO WORK WITH US WE MIGHT WANT TO MENTION TO THEM THE POSSIBILITY OF A WITHDRAWAL OF UNFICYP SHOULD NO SOLUTION BE REACHED IN THE NEAR-TERM FUTURE.

6. NIMETZ EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT QUIET MEDTTATION MIGHT WELL BE THE PROPER COURSE AT THE RIGHT TIME. THERE WOULD, HOWEVER, BE A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS TO OVERCOME: HOW THIS EFFORT WOULD BE TIED IN WITH THE INTERCOMMUNAL MECHANISM, HOW TO PERSUADE THE TURKS TO ACCEPT MEDIATION, AND WHAT ROLE WOULD DENKTASH PLAY IN THE PROCESS.

7. HIBBERT SAID THAT HE SAW TWO POSSIBILITIES FOR CYPRUS IN THE LONGER TERM. AS GREECE AND TURKEY FURTHER DEVELOPED THEIR TIES TO THE EC--EITHER MEMBERSHIP OR CLOSE ASSOCIATION--THEY WOULD COME TO FOCUS MORE ON COMMUNITY AFFAIRS AND THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WOULD IN A SENSE BECOME DETACHED
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FROM THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONS. ALTERNATIVELY, THE EC COULD CAPITALIZE ON GR-EK AND TURKISH DESIRES TO BECOME MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE COMMUNITY TO PRESS THEM, ALMOST AS A PREREQUISITE, TO COME TO A SOLUTION ON CYPRUS. EITHER WAY A SETTLEMENT WOULD SOONER OR LATER BE ACHIEVED. NIMETZ SAID HE BELIEVED THIS TO BE AN OVERLY OPTIMISTIC PROGNOSTICATION. HE COULD WELL ENVISAGE THE CYPRUS ISSUE REMAINING UNRESOLVED FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS AND CONTINUING TO EXACERBATE GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS. A CRISIS IN THE AEGEAN WAS ALSO NOT TO BE EXCLUDED.

8. HIBBERT INFORMED US THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NINE WOULD SHORTLY BE ASKED TO ACT UPON A PAPER THAT SET FORTH A SCENARIO ON THE POLITICAL COOPERATION ASPECTS OF

GREEK ENTRY INTO THE COMMUNITY IN 1980. THIS PAPER FOCUSED ON INFORMING THE GREEKS OF THE MECHANICS OF ENTRY AND WHAT WOULD BE REQUIRED OF THEM AS A MEMBER. HIBBERT POINTED OUT THAT ADOPTION OF THIS PAPER BY THE MINISTERS WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO ACCEPTING THE FACT OF GREEK ENTRY. MINISTERS WOULD ALSO BE ASKED TO CONSIDER A SECOND PAPER SETTING OUT WHAT COULD BE OFFERED THE TURKS AT THE TIME OF GREEK ENTRY. ONE OPTION WOULD BE TO PERMIT THEM TO HAVE A REPRESENTATIVE PRESENT ANY TIME THE (THEN) TEN DISCUSSED EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES. A SECOND POSSIBILITY--FAVORED BY THE FRENCH, WHO FELT THE FIRST OPTION WOULD BE TOO MUCH FOR THE GREEKS TO ACCEPT--WOULD BE SIMPLY TO KEEP THE TURKS INFORMED OF EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN MATTERS VIA THE PRESIDENCY. VANCE

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